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TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF WIVES MARRIED BY FATHERS OF SUBJECTS, AND NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING.

	MaM	Duk	MaJ	Has	Lum	Puk	Mir	Zad	Mat	Dib	Int	Total
One Wife, Moslems	40		54	72	76	50		9	69	74	3	450
Catholics	47	89	10	10		24	82	83	9		2	356
Total	87	89	64	82	76	74	82	92	78	74	5	805
Two Wives, Moslems	12		27	19	23	13		3	20	32	1	150
Catholics	5	16	5	3		12	16	7	1		3	68
Orthodox											1	1
Total	17	16	32	22	23	25	16	10	21	33	4	219
Three Wives, Moslems			4	7	8	1		1	4			25
Catholics			2				1	1				4
Total			6	7	8	1	1	2	4			29
Four Wives, Moslems			1		2	1						4
Catholics		1					2					3
Total		1	1		2	1	2					7
Six Wives, Moslems			1						1			2
Total Fathers	104	106	104	111	109	101	101	104	104	107	9	1060
No. childless 1st wives		6	8	4	2	3	1	1	4	6		35
With daughters only	1	7	2			4	3	3	4	2	2	28
Total unsatisfactory 1st wives in plural marriages	1	13	10	4	2	7	4	4	8	8	2	63
No. boys born	400	317	332	366	394	325	300	298	271	365	31	3399
No. girls born	283	237	201	239	227	188	165	159	167	184	17	2067
Total children	683	554	533	605	621	513	465	457	438	549	48	5466
No. children per family	6.6	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.1	4.5	4.4	4.2	5.1	5.3	5.2
Sex ratio of children	141	134	165	154	174	173	182	187	162	198	182	163

125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

• 128 595 These statistics do not constitute a record of pregnancies. Children who died in infancy are probably not included. Female infanticide has not been reported in Ghegnia. Presumably all or most of the children grew to such an age that either they were still living in 1929–30, or were old enough at the time of death to have made an impression on their full or half brothers who were our subjects. Our figures tell how many wives each father had, but not how many at a time. It would be hard to get that information from a casual questioning done in public at the time of measuring. In 1929 polygyny was legally forbidden in Albania for Catholics and Moslems alike, and the Catholics had in addition the position of the church to keep them from revealing the polygyny of their parents in the presence of several dozen other people. One other obvious defect of our data is that we have no record of marriages in which no son was born, and no second wife taken. This circumstance, although rare, must have occurred. The reader may think, in view of the unusual sex ratio, 163 male to 100 female offspring, that Moslems failed to reveal the true number of girls born, but I do not believe that this was the case. The Catholics had the same sex ratio as the Moslems. Furthermore, if many more children had been born than were recorded, the reproductive systems of Gheg mothers would have been taxed beyond their capacities.

As table 1 reveals, 1060 Ghegs married 1375 women. Three-fourths of the men had but one wife each, the rest anywhere from 2 to 6. A third of all Moslems married more than once, compared to a sixth of Catholics. The greater plurality on the part of the Moslems reflects the greater fertility of the soil in the eastern tribes, which are almost wholly Moslem, and where a man can afford more wives and feed more children. The wholly Catholic tribes, Mirdita and Dukagin, are the poorest in Ghegnia. Where the Catholics and Moslems live together in about equal numbers, the Catholics marry as many wives as the Moslems. In fact, in Puka the Catholics had more. Religion therefore has little to do with the total number of wives a man marries, although it

[511]

[see p. 236 -- Analysis]

595 may have something to do with the number to
163 whom he is married at one time.
128 Our statistics give us a little help in finding out why 256 Ghegs married more than one wife. In 82 cases, or 32 per cent, the first wife failed to provide her husband with an heir, although in 28 of these cases, or 11 per cent, she did produce one or more daughters. Since we do not know the date of birth of each child, we cannot be sure that some of the first wives who bore sons did not do so after a second wife had been taken, and the ratio of plural marriages concluded for this reason may be higher than our figures indicate. Some of our records reveal marriage after marriage without issue, until finally, the fourth or even the sixth wife bears a son. One can almost hear the gunfire and rejoicing.

Our intertribal mixtures, in 5 cases out of 9, were men whose fathers had taken more than one wife each. Of the 4 Has men whose mothers had come from Podrima, 3 had been reared in polygynous families. These figures strongly indicate a political motivation. The custom of taking plural wives from alien tribes in order to strengthen alliances is a widespread one, and goes back to the days of Solomon. Our figures are not suited to reveal the exact instance of this kind of exogamy.

These 2 reasons probably account for nearly a half of all plural marriages. The other half can easily have been caused by accommodations to untimely deaths. Upon the death of a man, the levirate might give one of his kinsmen a second wife. Upon the death of a woman, her husband would remarry, were he able. What with difficult deliveries, puerperal fever, and general exhaustion from having borne too many children in rapid succession, death must have taken many of the women listed in our series at an early age.

163 The figures on children show that 1060
128 fathers, through the agency of 1375 wives, produced 5466 offspring who lived long enough for our subjects to remember them. This yields an average of 5.2 children per family, of whom 3399, or 62 per cent, were boys. Thus the average Gheg householder had 3.2 boys to help him work his farm. He had only 2.0 daughters to sell in marriage. This birth rate is so high that a considerable population

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics, though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç and Kushnen, which

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d — Analyst]

Thirty-eight observations piece out this picture. Impressions of the foreheads of 1067 men show them to be for the most part of medium height and a little more than medium breadth, with a little less than medium slope on the average. The browridges run moderately large, and glabella is usually prominent. Eyefolds are usually absent, but when they do occur are almost always external, the so-called "Nordic" fold which is common with all narrow-faced Europeans. The almost complete absence of median and internal folds differentiates these people sharply from the Mongoloid and east Baltic populations of northeastern Europe. The wide opening of the eyeslit further emphasizes this difference. Almost one individual out of five shows a little eye obliquity, reminding one of Near Eastern Mediterranean types.

The face itself is characteristically gaunt; the malars rarely protrude forward and their lateral extension is only medium. The cheeks are medium to thin, and usually wrinkled, with firm lines around the mouth. The gonial angles protrude only to a normal extent judging by ordinary western European standards. This lean, drawn, and weather-beaten appearance of the face heightens the resemblance of these people to the Scots, Norse, and Basques. The 5 observations on the ears show nothing uncommon for Europeans. The lips run a little above medium in integumental (muscular) thickness, and unusually thin in membrane, reflecting probably bite and eating habits as much as race; they are also less everted than in the normal run of familiar European whites. The lips of the Ghegs look more like those of family portraits of the Revolutionary period than like those of modern Americans. The observation on chin prominence is based on actual slope rather than on fidelity to an ideal mean; the presence of 23 per cent of *sm* chins is no greater than would be found in any other narrow-jawed European population. Most of the chins are median; the bilateral form (discovered through palpation) goes with the Alpine and other pre-Mediterranean types in Europe as well as with individuals of unusual robusticity.

The most distinctive feature of the Mountain Gheg face, the nose, almost never springs from glabella without depression, according to

[See cat. 116, pp. 54g-54h -- Analyst]

8: Coon

EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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[For the analysis, classification, quantification and organization of data on composition of tribal samples, measurements and indices, observations, variability of the series and of the tribes, phenotypical differences between tribes and statistical validation; regional variations in body size and form, cranial vault, form of face, pilosity, pigmentation; age and strength, related metrical characters, certain soft parts of the face, pilosity, graying, color changes; bite and age, geography, face heights, face breadths; soil and physique; privilege and nutrition; cranial deformation, handedness, asymetry and flattening, anthropometry of flattening; and tribal distribution of head form, see category 116, pp. 51-54a; 54c-54q; 62a-71c; 72b-79e; 81a-85e; 87a-89b; 92a-98e.]